

And let's be clear: The reason that a big bipartisan majority of the American people and big bipartisan majorities in Congress support continuing to assist Ukraine is not primarily about inspiring speeches or a desire to engage in philanthropy.

The Ukrainian people are courageous and innocent, and they deserve our help. President Zelenskyy is an inspiring leader. But the most basic reasons for continuing to help Ukraine degrade and defeat the Russian invaders are cold, hard, practical American interests.

Helping equip our friends in Eastern Europe to win this war is also a direct investment in reducing Putin's future capabilities to menace America, threaten our allies, and contest our core interests.

Defeating the Russians will help prevent further security crises in Europe. It will prevent even further economic chaos that would roil key American trading partners and hurt American workers and families directly.

It will massively wear down the arsenal that is available to Putin for future efforts to use bullying and bloodshed to redraw still other borders down the road.

And it will send a stark warning to other would-be aggressors like the People's Republic of China.

By assisting Ukraine today, America is directly demonstrating our commitment to the basic principles of territorial integrity and national sovereignty—changing the calculus for others considering military aggression and lowering the odds of far costlier and far more deadly conflicts in the process.

So I will say it one more time. Continuing our support for Ukraine is morally right, but it is not only that. It is also a direct investment in cold, hard American interests.

That is why Republicans rejected the Biden administration's original request for Ukraine assistance—because it was insufficient. The administration's initial plan assumed there would be a lull in fighting over the winter and so the disbursement rates of weapons would actually decrease.

But hoping for the best cannot mean that we fail to prepare for the worst. Rather than slowing assistance, we should be speeding up international deliveries to Ukraine to help them take back more territory and better prepare for whatever they need wherever they next go on their offensive.

So Republicans pushed hard here in the Senate to increase the amount of security assistance in this bill. I am glad our Democratic colleagues came around.

The agreement on the table increases weapons purchases to support Ukraine beyond the President's request. This assistance is in our national security interest, but it is also in America's economic interest. These investments will help expand our defense manufacturing capacity and contribute to an

industry that supports high-paying American jobs.

The money is tied to strong oversight requirements to ensure that America's investments reach only the intended targets.

There has been meaningful oversight over our Ukraine assistance all along the way, including by three separate inspectors general and the Government Accountability Office.

And on top of that, last week's NDAA will put in place even further expansions in oversight, more end-use monitoring, and stricter reporting requirements.

And the oversight won't stop there. Just as Senate ranking members have worked hard to maximize the impact of our assistance, the incoming House Republican majority will be able to use their gavels to keep an even closer eye on Ukraine aid and make sure the Biden administration is doing everything possible to rebuild our defense industrial base.

While America is uniquely capable of leading this effort, we should not and are not doing so all by ourselves.

Vital Eastern Front allies and partners in Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Finland have risen to the challenge of backing Ukraine in the fight against tyranny.

So too have some Western European powers.

And some allies across Europe deserve credit for changing course, making substantial investments in their own militaries, and starting to unwind years of neglect of national defense.

But some other European allies have lagged behind. They can and must do more, both to stand with Ukraine today and to rebuild their own strength going forward.

Finally, we all know that Ukraine's fight to retake its territory is neither the beginning nor the end of the West's broader strategic competition with Putin's Russia.

Increasing the pressure on Putin's regime can and should be a bipartisan priority. That will take concrete steps, like sanctions with teeth, not empty symbolism.

If our Democratic colleagues are serious about joining this effort, Republicans stand ready to expose Russia's long trail of wartime atrocities and meaningfully ratchet up the economic and political costs that Russia pays for its misdeeds, from Ukraine to Georgia to Moldova to the Middle East and beyond.

These threats and atrocities require more than symbols and resolutions. They require concrete actions and consequences.

The plight of the innocent people of Ukraine is offering the world the starkest, most painful, and most personal reminder imaginable that global security and national self-determination do not uphold themselves; that peace is far from inevitable and freedom is far from self-fulfilling; that countries who benefit from global sta-

bility need to help deter countries who want chaos.

But even against the barbaric horrors of a war they never asked for—even in the face of torture, executions, and inhuman attacks on infrastructure, and systemic terror campaigns against civilian cities—against all these things—all these things—against the cold fate that Putin has tried to deal Ukraine, we have seen the warmth of the Ukrainian people's spirits win out. Their love for their homeland, for their families, for their freedom—the United States Congress will be honored to hear the message that their courageous President brings to us on behalf of the brave citizens he represents.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Democratic whip.

JUSTICE FOR VICTIMS OF WAR CRIMES ACT

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, as if in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of S. 4240 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 4240) to amend section 2441 of title 18, United States Code, to broaden the scope of individuals subject to prosecution for war crimes.

There being no objection, the committee was discharged and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Durbin substitute amendment be agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 6590), in the nature of a substitute, was agreed to as follows:

(Purpose: In the nature of a substitute)

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Justice for Victims of War Crimes Act".

SEC. 2. WAR CRIMES.

Section 2441 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking subsection (b) and inserting the following:

"(b) JURISDICTION.—There is jurisdiction over an offense described in subsection (a) if—

"(1) the offense occurs in whole or in part within the United States; or

"(2) regardless of where the offense occurs—

"(A) the victim or offender is—

"(i) a national of the United States or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence; or

"(ii) a member of the Armed Forces of the United States, regardless of nationality; or

“(B) the offender is present in the United States, regardless of the nationality of the victim or offender.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) NONAPPLICABILITY OF CERTAIN LIMITATIONS.—In the case of an offense described in subsection (a) and further described in subsections (c)(1) and (c)(3), an indictment may be found or an information may be instituted at any time without limitation.

“(f) CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—No prosecution for an offense described in subsection (a) shall be undertaken by the United States except on written certification of the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, or an Assistant Attorney General, which function of approving prosecutions may not be delegated, that a prosecution by the United States is in the public interest and necessary to secure substantial justice.

“(2) OFFENDER PRESENT IN UNITED STATES.—

For an offense for which jurisdiction exists under subsection (b)(2)(B) (and does not exist under any other provision of subsection (b)), the written certification required under paragraph (1) of this subsection that a prosecution by the United States is in the public interest and necessary to secure substantial justice shall be made by the Attorney General or the Deputy Attorney General, which function may not be delegated. In issuing such certification, the same official shall weigh and consider, among other relevant factors—

“(A) whether the alleged offender can be removed from the United States for purposes of prosecution in another jurisdiction; and

“(B) potential adverse consequences for nationals, servicemembers, or employees of the United States.

“(g) INPUT FROM OTHER AGENCY HEADS.—The Secretary of Defense and Secretary of State may submit to the Attorney General for consideration their views generally regarding potential benefits, or potential adverse consequences for nationals, servicemembers, or employees of the United States, of prosecutions of offenses for which jurisdiction exists under subsection (b)(2)(B).

“(h) NO JUDICIAL REVIEW.—Certifications under subsection (f) and input from other agency heads under subsection (g) are not subject to judicial review.

“(i) RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section shall be construed as—

“(1) support for ratification of or accession to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which entered into force on July 1, 2002; or

“(2) consent by the United States to any assertion or exercise of jurisdiction by any international, hybrid, or foreign court.”.

The bill (S. 4240), as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I will come to the floor later this morning or early this afternoon to discuss this bill, which Senator GRAHAM joined me in cosponsoring, to say the United States should never be a safe haven for war criminals, regardless of where they committed their crimes. I will speak to that at a later moment.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR—Continued

TRIBUTE TO CHERI BUSTOS

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, early in my political career, I learned an important lesson: If you want to succeed, you don't go it alone. For every major deci-

sion, you need a trusted friend to turn to, someone who will be honest with you and steer you in the right direction.

In my life, I have been lucky to have many friends who pass that test, including my mentors: Paul Douglas, the United States Senator from Illinois, who introduced me to this world when I was a college senior; and my predecessor in the United States Senate, Paul Simon. Another Illinois legend who joins that rank is Gene Callahan.

Paul Simon and Gene Callahan were two of the hardest working and most grounded people I have ever known. They were public servants in every sense of the word. The two of them pioneered an approach to politics that I have tried to live up to: return every phone call; respond to every constituent; always, always, always remain true to your values.

Sadly, both Paul Simon and Gene Callahan have been gone for many years, but their legacy lives on in a public servant who has perfected their model for leadership. That public servant's name is Congresswoman CHERI BUSTOS. For the past 10 years, she has represented Northwest and Central Illinois in the House, and she happens to be Gene Callahan's daughter.

Since Cheri was first elected in 2012, she has lived, breathed, and fought for every family in the 17th district. From providing the best constituent service in the House to securing more funding for her district than any other Democrat in the House, Cheri quickly set herself apart as one of the brightest leaders in our State's history.

She will be retiring at the end of this Congress, but before she heads home, I want to take a moment to share how proud I have been to watch our MVP from East Moline emerge as the All-Star champion of the United States Congress.

Cheri grew up in a family that stressed the importance of public service. Her grandfather, Joe Callahan, was a hog farmer and a New Deal Democrat who represented one of Illinois's most rural counties in the State general assembly. He instilled in Cheri a deep appreciation for rural America and the family farms that feed our Nation.

Whenever the State legislature was in session, Grandfather Joe would stay with Cheri, Gene, and the rest of the family in Springfield. It was during that same period that I first met Gene Callahan. The two of us were working for then-Lieutenant Governor Paul Simon.

Gene would invite me, Paul, and sometimes even Senator Alan Dixon over to the House for a spirited conversation about the news of the day. It was truly a “kitchen cabinet.” Oftentimes, when we sat at the dinner table dishing about politics, we were joined by another youngster, a participant. A young Cheri Callahan was around, listening carefully. It is where she learned her first lessons in politics.

Growing up, Cheri was passionate about a lot more than politics. In high

school, she was a force to be reckoned with on the basketball court. Just as importantly, she understood the value of being a team player—so much so that in college, she was picked as the MVP on both the basketball and volleyball teams.

That is a quality that really defines CHERI BUSTOS—from the basketball court to the floor of the House, she is a team player who is in it to win it—not just for herself but, more importantly, for the people who were counting on her.

Throughout her life, Cheri's passion for victory has been surpassed only by a capacity for empathy. She always listens. It is another lesson she learned from her dad, Gene, and her mom, Ann, and Paul Simon. All of whom, like Cheri, had something to do with public service, either by participating in journalism, public service, or supporting those who do.

In Cheri's case, she was a reporter with the Quad-City Times for 17 years. She started on the night shift as a police reporter. It was a tough job and doesn't pay a lot, but Cheri struck gold. While working for the Quad-City Times, she met a young sheriff named Gerry Bustos. And all these years later, they are happily married with three children and two grandkids.

Cheri won her first election in 2007 for a seat on East Moline City Council. I know that she won it because I knocked on doors for her. A few years later, she called me and said: I am moving on up. I want to run for Congress. I will admit, my wife and I were surprised. Making a leap from city council to Congress is not for the faint of heart, but Cheri was an obvious natural.

That first campaign began in the kitchen with one staffer: her nephew Brad. The two of them traveled all over northwest and central Illinois in his car, which had no working air conditioning and was pretty much held together with duct tape. But like Gene had taught her, Cheri showed up to every event, every townhall, every fundraiser, every phone bank. It was a heartfelt campaign that started off on a shoestring. That November, Cheri won that tough district by eight points.

A couple of months after her victory, Cheri and Gerry made their nearly 15-hour drive to Washington with a U-Haul hitched to their Jeep Wrangler. It was the beginning of an amazing congressional career.

During the first term, Cheri launched “Cheri-on-Shift,” her practice of working alongside constituents at their jobs. In Cheri's words, the Cheri-on-Shift experiment gave her “a feel for what people do for a living, how they support their families, their struggles, why they take pride in their jobs.”

Over the past decade, Cheri has served drinks at the Golden Hen Cafe in Galena, planted soybeans with a farmer in Galesburg, and taken care of senior citizens at the Lifescape facility